

Big Flame

20p

**SPECIAL
SUPPLEMENT**

NATO

NO

THANKS!

Cold War

NATO-NO THANKS!

Listen to the media and you'd think NATO had been around for ever; but in fact it has only been in existence for 33 years. NATO wasn't formed in response to Soviet aggression, rather it was set up to consolidate US power in Europe at a time when the Soviet Union was devastated by the war (see centre pages). The Warsaw Pact, incidentally, was signed in 1955, six years after NATO's formation.

Now, as then, NATO offers us nothing. As the Soviet Union's

decaying empire continues to collapse from within, NATO ensures that US power continues to expand. On top of that, NATO offers us a nuclear war on European territory - all in the interests of preserving peace.

So we say - let's get out of NATO now. NATO is the enemy of peace and the enemy of freedom, not only here in Britain, but throughout the world. Read on.



There were people from at least a dozen countries, and banners in as many languages. NATO... NAVO... OTAN... the initials were different but we were united in the

same campaign and our demonstration had one common target. This was Easter 1981, the international demonstration in Brussels outside NATO's impressive but forbidding

headquarters, and the first time Britain's peace movement had looked beyond our shores at the wider international implications of our campaign.

But other voices are being raised, too. Dan Smith, for instance, in a recent article in New Socialist argues that Britain must remain in NATO: 'our friends in the other western European disarmament movements' need us in the NATO fold to help shift the Alliance in a non-nuclear direction. 'There is now more prospect of changing NATO than ever before', says Smith.

CND also has been downplaying its policy of British withdrawal, fearful perhaps that raising this demand too firmly might scare away supporters. And of course in the Labour Party, Atlanticism has remained firmly entrenched, even when the unilateralist current has been running high.

So, were we wrong in Brussels? - not just us, but the German 'NATO? Nein danke!' and the Belgian 'OTAN? Non!'. Is the correct way to work for peace to keep our civil servants and advisers burrowing away *inside* that headquarters building? The answer must be a firm *no!* Certainly, a slogan like 'Britain out of NATO' isn't adequate. A retreat into insularity

on our part isn't the answer, or incidentally, likely to be politically possible. Our fight is an international one, but it must be for the complete removal of the NATO Alliance - and the Warsaw Pact, too - not a campaign for a reformed 'nicer' NATO.

NATO from the very first has been an organ of cold war. Unlike popular myth, it was not a defensive reaction to Soviet aggression, but was founded in 1949 (six years before the Warsaw Pact) and until the Soviet Union began to catch up in the Sixties had clear supremacy in nuclear weapons. Supposedly defending the 'free world', it nevertheless could accommodate within its ranks military or fascist dictatorships (Portugal, Greece, now Turkey); its weapons have been available for internal political repression or (as in Algeria, Congo, Angola, Mozambique) colonial war.

And NATO is without question a nuclear alliance. It is impossible to imagine, in time of East-West conflict, that a 'non-nuclear' NATO member country would be able to separate itself from the military strategies of its allies, especially the dominant partner the United States: in a war, peacetime pledges to keep out the nukes wouldn't last a day.

What is more, just supposing that all the European NATO members (Norway to Portugal, Britain to Turkey) decided to come out and declare themselves nuclear-free - what then? NATO would still remain a military alliance threatening Russian cities from nuclear bases floating on or under the oceans off our shores.

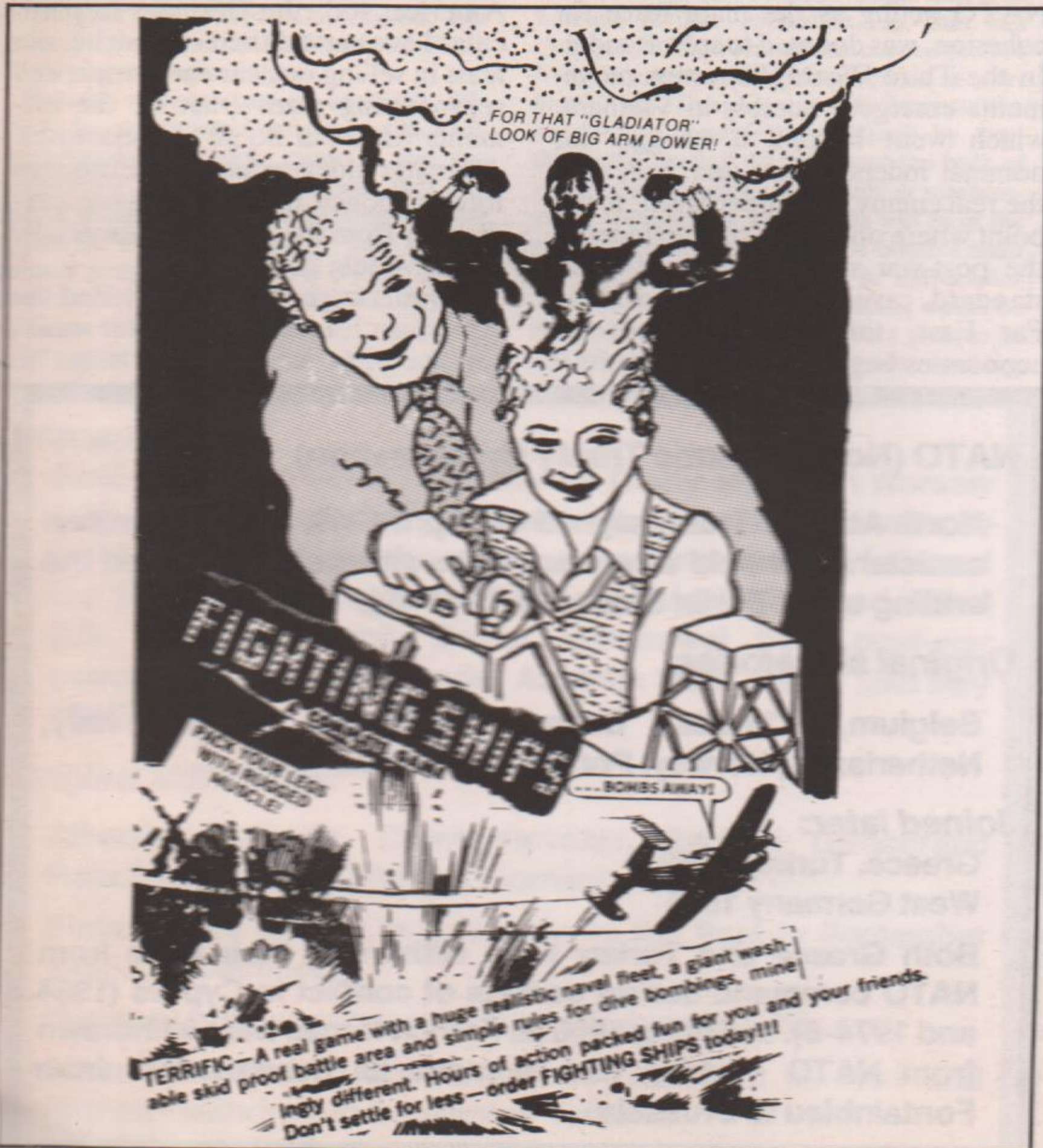
Our opposition to NATO is fundamental, but we also mustn't hide the unpalatable reality of oppression in Eastern bloc countries. But take the massive and courageous struggles of the workers in Solidarnosc, for instance. Is it NATO which can help the Polish working classes in their struggles? - just the opposite: the more the ideological barriers are up, the less chance there is for space for change, either East or West. (Over here, it may be 'communist infiltration', in the East 'counter-revolutionary tendencies').

The truth is that NATO and the Warsaw Pact need each other, and require the existence of the other to justify their own existence, reinforcing the divide in Europe that is such a threat to our peace and safety. The best present we can seek (in conjunction not only with our friends in western Europe, as Dan Smith wants, but in eastern Europe too) is a continent freed from the cold war divide, freed from NATO and Warsaw Pact nuclear confrontation. That's a tall order: but ultimately without this, CND and the peace movement will be left grasping a few hard-won concessions while the machines of war forge onwards regardless.

NO MORE TOYS FOR THE BOYS

Why we WONT

Women Oppose the Nuclear Threat is a network of feminist groups organising within the anti-nuclear and peace movements. We're very conscious that women have always been active in the peace movement and we feel a sense of strength that many women have continually been wary and intolerant of the glorification of war which has led us to the development of such horrific weapons.



We've also increasingly felt we want to make clear that fighting for nuclear disarmament, and against the use of nuclear power, is part of our struggle for control of our lives and our bodies.

We've been fighting to be free from sexual violence and harassment; to make our own decisions about whether or not we want children and how they are cared for; for housing and health care which suits our needs.

Yet nuclear war is a threat of violence imposed upon us in the most horrifying way; the presence of radiation from nuclear technology means that if we *do* decide we want children, they may be born deformed; maintaining a nuclear state involves secret policing and the power to use such technology being concentrated in the hands of the few - there is no possibility of sharing responsibility for something so totally destructive and uncontrollable. Meanwhile our own society prioritises militarism and killing while housing and health care are seen as less important.

We've been worried by the use of images of women as ever nurturing, ever peaceful (for instance the Greenham Common poster for the March festival was of a woman pregnant with the earth in her womb). It seems consciously or not to be accepting a male defined women's role of caring.

As feminists we've been saying women are angry about the ways we're oppressed and will fight back. We must continue to reject the idea of women as passive victims. Over the Falklands for instance, it has again been clear in the media that the image which expresses our society's values is of women waiting and weeping while 'our boys' fight.

We *do* care about the quality of our lives, and about the people around us, but we will not allow our caring to be exploited by those who make wars.

We must protest for ourselves, not just for our children and those dependant on us, although of course the vision of children dying in a nuclear holocaust, or being left in a semi-alive state without us to care for them is a particularly horrifying one. But more than that, we mustn't use images that reinforce the ideology and institution of motherhood, because in our society motherhood is a personal choice, but in society's view it is also the only legitimate identity allowed to women.

We see the oppression of women as part of the same system that produces nuclear weapons, a system based on the threat and if necessary the use of violence, a system which controls women through rape and sexual harassment, where boys learn that to use violence is to have their place in the world validated, and to join the army/fight in the Falklands to 'protect' British sovereignty is to be truly male.

The second WONT conference in April confirmed the direction WONT groups are taking towards developing a feminist understanding of the nuclear threat and in using these ideas as a basis for organising. On May 24 - International Women's Day for Disarmament - WONT called a London action at the Ministry of Defence in Holborn around the themes of anger and mourning.

It is essential that we make the links between nuclear technology and women's oppression if we are to challenge the ideology which creates and uses nuclear technology.

CND and the Falklands

If we are to believe the opinion polls, there are many supporters of CND who back the Tory strategy over the Falklands to the hilt, right up to the sinking of the General Belgrano and the invasion of the islands. Further evidence of this can be found in newspaper letters pages.

If nothing else, this indicates the danger that lies in a narrow emphasis on nuclear disarmament at the expense of broader political issues. Far from holding itself together by such narrowness, CND is seeing itself fall apart. Its survival now depends on it listening to those who insist that the issue of nuclear weapons cannot be separated from that of conventional weapons, and that NATO's nuclear war-mongering is closely related to the NATO members' imperialist role around the world.

For Big Flame, any armed forces in the possession of an imperialist power like Britain will be used as a force for aggression rather than a force for peace. Ireland remains a classical example of this as even the most ardent supporters of the troops' arrival there must now recognise.

TRIDENT'S WAR

What's more, as another article in this supplement explains, integration between nukes and conventional weapons is so far advanced now that the idea of supporting the latter while opposing nukes (as do many CND supporters) is no longer just naive, it is absurd. And the added twist to this is that one of the reasons for despatching the task force in such haste was to protect Trident from right-wing pro-Navy lobby baying for its blood! Trident has helped provoke a war before it's been built!

On top of this, the Falklands adventure is for both General Galtieri and Mrs Thatcher a calculated Machiavellian attempt to distract oppositional forces at home from the real issues facing them. For Thatcher, the peace movement was one of the targets.

Finally, we see in the dispute the tragic but inevitable result of arms sales to military dictatorships. The sales begin as a necessary extension of the arms industry, being a basic source of finance for more arms production. They end up by rebounding back partly on the arms trader, but above all on the home populations of the trading countries. Once the arms have shown their mettle, their sales to other dictators are boosted, thus keeping the chain reaction in motion...

CRACKS IN WESTERN ALLIANCE

THE ORIGINS OF T

The proposed deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles by NATO forces in Western Europe on the basis of a 'theatre war' strategy has once again made Europe a central issue in super-power geo-politics. The quick response of the disarmament movement has been to develop an international movement across Europe unknown since the defeat of Fascism in the Second World War. For the first time since NATO's formation, radical forces in a number of member countries are challenging, across the frontiers, NATO's very *raison d'être*. Such a challenge necessitates a look at NATO's past, its sordid origins in the aftermath of the war.

It is useful to return to that moment at the end of the Second World War because it was the various political, military and economic agreements worked out then which laid the foundation of the United States domination of Western Europe and the Third World, the Cold War and the enduring conflict between the two super powers.

When the atomic bombs were dropped by the Americans on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, the war in Europe had already ended. At Yalta in February of that year Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt had met and decided the basic division of Europe that lasts until this day. In April Russian and American troops met on the Elbe. Throughout the war the Soviet forces had always engaged many more German divisions than the Western Allies and their losses had been enormous. In 1943 Churchill had noted that the Western Allies were 'playing about' with only six German divisions, while the Russians were facing 185. By April 1945 they (the Russians) were now in control of most of Eastern Europe and to all concerned at the time it seemed unquestionable that Eastern Europe should not be within their sphere of influence.

Antagonistic

If it is possible to date the break up of the wartime anti-fascist alliance, welded it is true by the necessity of the hour, events of mid-1945 were crucial. In April Roosevelt died, Truman becoming President. Truman immediately adopted a distinctly antagonistic attitude towards the Soviet Union. The military defeat of Germany in May and the successful tests of the atomic bomb in New Mexico convinced the Anglo-Americans that they could now dictate terms rather than have to respect any Russian prerogatives. Truman's authorisation to drop the atomic bomb in Japan was not so much to end the war (the Japanese were close to defeat) but to open the cold war with a field trial for the new weapons.

Soviet Menace

The United States emerged from the war as the *major* world power, and worked out a neat sleight of hand by which the Soviet menace quickly replaced Nazi Germany as the popular bogeyman. Thus the initial offensive was conducted not by the ruined, non-nuclear and isolated Russian state, but by its unscarred and immensely powerful antagonist in the West.

From 1945 onwards the United States carried forward a showdown strategy under the programme officially called 'containment'. The doctrine of containment developed by George Kennan (Mr X of 1947, but now an establishment opponent of nuclear weapons) and vigorously implemented by John Foster Dulles in the 1950s was clearly designed to put as much pressure on the Soviet Union as possible, both by encircling the Russians and by destabilising their influence in Eastern Europe. The foreign policy of the US throughout this period was mirrored by the militant anti-communism of McCarthyism at home. It reflected a view of the Soviet Union not based on any serious assessment of their capabilities or intentions but instead on a primitive isolationist sense of anti-communism that has resurfaced in Washington with the election of Reagan and his cold war advisers.

If the United States emerged after

the war as the major capitalist power the immediate question strategic planners and advisers had to answer was 'how do we organise the world'. What was necessary was a series of political, economic and military institutions which would provide the framework for US global power. These various agreements and institutions formed the basis of the US cold war programme. At an economic level the basis of a stable international monetary system was established with the foundation of the IMF and the World Bank at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944.

War-torn

In order to revitalise the war-torn economies of Western Europe a massive aid programme (the Marshall Plan) was started in 1948. The general aim of these initiatives (though the strategists behind them were often divided in their views on them) was to restore political and economic equilibrium to the developed capitalist world: to avoid the depression of the inter-war years, to internationalise the capitalist system and to minimise inter-capitalist antagonisms. At a political level this unity was achieved by the elaboration of the Truman doctrine of March 1947. The basic elements of this were twofold: a vigorous ideological crusade against Soviet Communism and a commitment to contain armed revolution wherever it developed. The 'big stick' behind all these policies was provided by the US nuclear monopoly and the NATO military alliance signed in April 1949.

Throughout the fifties, despite several offers from the Soviet Union for negotiations on arms limitations and neutral zones, the U.S. pushed the theory of containment to its limits. One of the most significant moments in this process was the re-arming of West Germany and the inclusion of West Germany within NATO in May 1955. The House Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning in 1946 had claimed:

'Germany is the special responsibility of the Western powers, and on its fate mainly depends the future of Europe in relation to Communism'.

Like Germany, Austria had been occupied after the war by joint allied forces. In a quick rush of events in the summer of 1955 the fate of Germany was quickly sorted out. In April, agreement on the withdrawal of troops from Austria and future Austrian neutrality was reached. On 6th May the NATO conference in Paris ushered Germany into the Alliance. The following day, in retaliation, the USSR renounced its treaties of alliance with Britain and France. A week later the Warsaw Pact was signed.

Neutrality

The significance of this diplomatic tit for tatting was that the example of Austria could have been taken as a precedent for further wedges of neutrality between the super-powers. But it was clearly not what the two arch anti-communists Foster Dulles and Adenauer wanted and the division of Europe was complete and set fast. Austrian neutrality had, though, indicated the possibility of a nuclear free zone in Central Europe and on different occasions in the following years various similar plans were put forward by Eden, Gaitskell and the Polish Foreign Minis-



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin meet to carve up the globe after World War Two

ter Rapacki in 1957. All these were brushed aside by the Americans - a reflection of their domination of the Western European states and their persistently belligerent response to communism in western and eastern Europe. At the heart of the Cold War was a concerted - if not entirely pre-planned - attempt to ensure US dominance over a new alliance of forces in Western Europe and Japan, along with a Soviet attempt to revive its war-ruined economy with aid from the economies of Eastern Europe. As a result, the inter-imperialist rivalry that had characterised capitalism until now (and led to it almost destroying itself) was replaced by a new rivalry, that of 'capitalism versus communism'. For the West, the switch to a single common enemy worked magic, allowing the capitalist world to benefit from a period of 'competitive coexistence' whereby the different countries abandoned their fight to share out the world through colonisation and chose instead to expand primarily into each other's burgeoning markets. Investment in the Third World grew too, especially US investment, but this was supposedly more legitimate than colonisation, and developed mainly in the newly 'independent' countries. And when things went wrong, of course, up popped the Soviet bogeyman to justify a NATO-backed intervention.

But this neat Cold War set-up, with NATO acting as the main force for cohesion, was doomed to split asunder. In the Third World, liberation movements emerged, notably in Vietnam, which went beyond a struggle for nominal 'independence' and challenged the real enemy, US imperialism, to the point where one of the cornerstones of the post-war system, the gold-dollar standard, caved in. In Europe and the Far East, the expanding post-war economies began to find 'competitive

coexistence' too confining, and sought to open up new markets of their own. And the OPEC cartel challenged the oil multinationals' domination of the world oil industry with such dramatic consequences for the western European countries that they had to both change their Middle East foreign policy and seek energy deals with the Soviet Union - both these against the wishes of the US.

Tensions

The extensive interdependence of the western economies, along with the continuing predominance of the US economy, have ensured that the western alliance has remained intact, with only the French withdrawing from a full commitment to NATO in favour of an independent policy of aggressive arms sales and intervention overseas, not to mention nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Nevertheless, the tensions have worsened as the European and Japanese industries have clawed away more and more at US market domination. Thus in steel, in motors and the electrical and electronics industries, the Americans have suffered a marked drop in market size and profit levels. In the Middle East, the OPEC boom has brought European, Japanese and US companies scurrying for business, particularly in arms. And in Latin America, too, the Germans in particular have carved their own niche, not least in selling nuclear enrichment and reprocessing plant (that is, the elements for atom bomb manufacture). A greater independence for European foreign policy has flowed quite predictably from these changes, especially in the Middle East.

All this might have only ruffled the American Eagle's feathers if it wasn't for the utter disarray that began to

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)

North Atlantic Treaty signed 4th April 1949, pledging mutual assistance should any member be attacked. It followed the ending of the Berlin Blockade (1948-49),

Original signatories:

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, UK, USA.

Joined later:

Greece, Turkey 1952
West Germany 1955

Both Greece and Turkey have withdrawn their units from NATO command during periods of conflict in Cyprus (1964 and 1974-6). In Spring 1966 all French forces were withdrawn from NATO - which had to move its headquarters from Fontainebleau to Brussels.

What they say..

THE NEW COLD WAR



Iran put paid to this notion and left US strategy in tatters. With the US helicopter debacle in the Iranian desert putting the final boot in only one option remained – a New Cold War.

US Revival

The new Cold War – the return to anti-Soviet hysteria, the talk of theatre war and the boost in arms spending – started in essence because the post-War system made possible by the original Cold War was on the point of collapse and because the USA, which had been the real power within that system, sought to revive that power by returning to the basic elements on which it was built. Revealingly, the key institution used by the US to prop itself up was NATO.

There are those who seek to reform NATO from within. Many others simply see NATO as a guarantor of freedom and democracy. Yet it doesn't take much thought to realise that such notions are but pipe dream and fantasy.

Take the Cruise and Pershing II missiles: The European Governments agreed to take these on their own territory several years ago. At the time, it appeared that they had more of a say within NATO, and they deemed that the deployment of missiles so close to Eastern Europe would provide extra protection in light of new developments on the Russian side. Naive, but there you are.

Come Reagan, Haig et al and it's all change. Now it's the Americans who decide, without consultation, how and when the missiles will be used. And as far as the American regime is concerned, using the missiles to zap the Russians may not be such a bad thing if

the resulting war could be confined to the 'theatre' of Europe. Once again we are reminded that peace and freedom are but a smokescreen behind which the US seeks to reassert its power.

Take Poland: After the Generals attempted to destroy Solidarity with the Martial Law stranglehold, what do we see the Americans doing inside NATO? For one, they were actively trying to sabotage the Soviet gas pipeline to western Europe, which they saw as likely to undermine US control over European foreign policy (see NATO Review, Feb. '82; Businessweek 22/2/82). Secondly, they called a unique special meeting of NATO's Atlantic Council to insist that NATO members follow *their* line on Poland. All of which was a cackhanded attempt to use a crisis to reassert US dominance over the Alliance at a time when the European peace movement was threatening that dominance.

Peace Movement

The European movement is remarkable in being a mass radical movement that traverses most of NATO's internal frontiers. Just like Solidarity and related movements in Eastern Europe it has, then, more potential than anything hitherto to subvert the post-war alliance system (NATO/Warsaw Pact) that holds the world in a straightjacket and which directly subverts the interests of genuine peace and liberation.

Yet ironically it seems that the Americans are more aware of this potential than the movement itself. Just look at their response: Reagan's 'zero-option' proposals, the new arms reduction proposals, the blustering reaction to the Poland crisis. They are clearly worried!

It is vital that the peace movement becomes more aware of its potential and works harder to fulfil it. The end goal must, of course, be the break-up of NATO, but considering the enormous difficulties that face us on the way to this (which we intend to discuss in the next supplement), we could usefully concentrate for now on:

1. solidarity with liberation struggles around the world.
2. solidarity with opposition movements in Eastern Europe, who may not always share our politics, but who have a similar role to us within their own system of oppression.
3. a commitment to mobilising trade union support for withdrawal from NATO.
4. a commitment to supporting struggles against sexism and racism over here. Such struggles run directly counter to the values that the New Cold War seeks to promote.
5. education as to the real role of NATO and the history of the Cold War, relating these to a better understanding of imperialism and the US's and European powers' role within it.
6. pushing and tugging away at the tensions that have developed within the western alliance, attempting to edge them closer to a radical break-up of this alliance. All these are part of a strategy for liberation not just from NATO, but also from the ruling classes in Europe that rely so much on NATO for their survival. It's a strategy for a world free of oppressive military alliance, of the limits on democratic freedom that are part and parcel of these, of the class, sexual and racial oppression that is upheld and reinforced by them, and of the domination of the Third World that NATO helps maintain.

The NATO arguments for nuclear weaponry are looking increasingly shabby, as claims about 'defence' are shown to hide world-wide aggression and internal repression. Here we look at some of the main statements made by the proponents of the nuclear arms race.

The existence of nuclear deterrence is the reason why we have not seen a major war since 1945.

Yet more than 20 million people have died in wars all over the world since then. Tensions created or fuelled by the carve-up of the world by the superpowers, and by imperialist interests, have ensured a constant succession of wars, mainly in the third world.

Russia would invade Britain if we gave up our independent nuclear deterrent.

The only reason for the Soviet Union to launch an attack on European countries is if they posed a direct threat. This possibility is actually increased by Britain's programme of acquiring new weapons and its role as a launching pad for US missiles like cruise.

In reality the Soviet tanks that NATO planners are so fond of talking about as a potential invasion force are fully occupied in ensuring the stability of the Soviet bloc, in the same way that the only use in Europe of NATO weapons has been in Portugal, Greece and Turkey – for internal repression.

NATO and its nuclear forces exist to protect Western Democracy – for example the right to protest against such things as nuclear weapons!

Undemocratic regimes throughout the world, such as South Africa, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Uruguay – would be unable to exist without the support of NATO countries, in particular the US. The recent coup against the Turkish government took place with NATO backing.

NATO is not the paragon of popular democracy it claims to be. In Britain, the atom bomb was developed without public knowledge, and the decision to build a British independent nuclear deterrent was taken in complete secrecy by Attlee and Bevin after the war.

Evictions of Greenham Common peace camp in May demonstrated that US missiles have more right to British common land than anti-nuclear protesters.

The arms industry creates jobs.

This is the opposite of the truth. Weapon manufacture is generally very capital-intensive, generating fewer jobs for a given level of investment. As the Lucas Aerospace workers have shown, the resources that are wasted on arms production could be utilised for socially useful production, with a much higher level of employment.

The rebuilding of the W. German and Japanese industry following the war was clearly helped by the terms of the peace agreements that prevented them from immediately rearming. This contrasts with the immense British postwar arms spending, reaching 9.8% of output in 1952.

platforms; the number of nuclear submarines has been increased – with further large increases targeted in the new budget; and there has been a mushrooming of military bases around the North Atlantic coasts, from Norway to Iceland to Stornoway. Clearly, alternatives are being prepared lest Cruise and Pershing II missiles are forced off the European mainland by the peace movement. Already they are one step ahead!

bedevil US foreign policy as a whole. In the early and mid-'70s, liberation movements achieved notable successes in Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Other liberation struggles in Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, etc. appeared on the verge of victory while Portugal, on NATO's West flank, seemed for a while on the point of revolution.

The Vietnam defeat paralysed the US for years, and the main foreign policy that emerged was based on the premise that the US could retain its hold over the world by combining an emphasis on human rights with the sophistication and power of US multinationals. The Shi'ite revolution in

NUKES BECOME CONVENTIONAL Weapon integration

Integration is the name given to the spreading of small nuclear weapons among conventional armies, the narrowing divide between nuclear weapons and conventional weapons, and the changing tactics that go along with these. In some ways, integration is so advanced that a conventional war involving one of the NATO powers will soon be scarcely conceivable without nuclear weapons being deployed. It is no coincidence that the British Government has refused to deny that the Falklands taskforce is carrying nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons are so obviously different to conventional weapons, with their exceptional destructive capacity and the devastating effects of radiation, that the idea of using them in close fighting between opposing troop formations has always seemed preposterous. But it is exactly this that the US and other NATO military planners have up their sleeve.

Of course, there have always been some

battlefield nuclear weapons, but as long as the strategy of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) prevailed, there seemed no more likelihood of a conventional war between the Soviets and the Americans than of a nuclear war. Both sides assumed that any war would be a total war and would leave both sides devastated.

Now that NATO has determined that a 'limited' war can be both fought and won without further escalation, all that has changed. It was recently announced (before Reagan's proposals for reductions in warheads) that Reagan wants to increase the number of American warheads by two-thirds (to around 40,000), and the bulk of these would be either battlefield or medium-range weapons. A lot of them will be of the neutron bomb variety – the N-bomb's main use being as an anti-people or anti-soldier weapon which, so the plans state, would be fired off (against Warsaw Pact troops) in salvos of about 40. The scientists working

at Oak Ridge (the US equivalent of Aldermaston) recently announced that they had managed to reduce the diameter of an N-bomb from 8 to 6 inches. Well, surprise, surprise, 6 inches is the calibre of the main US howitzer, which has a range of 17 miles.

Cruise missiles also show integration in action. They are so cheap (about \$1.2m, as against about \$100m for the Minuteman III) that they can be used with a high explosive (or nerve gas) warhead instead of a nuclear one; they are slowish and of medium-range, with a variety of uses including anti-personnel (like the N-bomb) and possible first strike use against air-fields or silos. They also highlight something else about integration: who benefits?

WHO BENEFITS?

The cruise missile was originally developed in the early 1970s by the Boeing Corp., using 'off the shelf' technology (which means they spent very little on research and development). They had not been asked to develop it by the Pentagon, and much of their early spending was on convincing various generals that it was the answer to all their problems, including many they didn't know they had. Well, they succeeded, and in doing so they helped give a new twist to the arms race. At the same time they provided yet one more example of the intri-

cate interdependence of military and corporate interests.

For Boeing is just one of many massive American companies which relies substantially on arms to achieve viable profit levels. The support may come either in subsidies for research and development, or the fact that the Pentagon is a regular and major consumer of the companies' products, and it is so extensive that what is often called the military-industrial complex comprises some 65% of US GNP.

The nature of the military-corporate interdependence ensures that the US military strategy consistently opens up new twists and turns to justify new types of expenditure. One such strategy is integration, which is novel and significant enough to send defence spending soaring up some 30% in real terms in the next few years. What's more, it is precisely the arms-oriented firms, including such monsters as General Dynamics, Boeing, Lockheed and Chrysler, that are going to benefit – particularly Chrysler, which it appears has been rescued from collapse by a huge contract for the M1 tank. Bear in mind, though, that the M1 tank does several gallons to the mile, breaks down after 40 miles, and is too heavy for most places.

The only conceivable justification for its production is the rescue of Chrysler!

ATLANTIC DIMENSION

Another dimension to integration is the adaptation of the US fleet to nuclear weapons. Already two US Navy battleships, the Iowa and the Missouri, have been converted into floating Cruise missile firing

Warsaw Pact

East European Mutual Assistance Treaty signed in Warsaw 14th May 1955, pledging signatories to assist each other to meet any armed attack on one or more members. It followed the incorporation of West Germany into NATO, and Allied (US, British, French, Soviet withdrawal from post-war occupation of Austria (under Austrian State Treaty 15th May 1955).

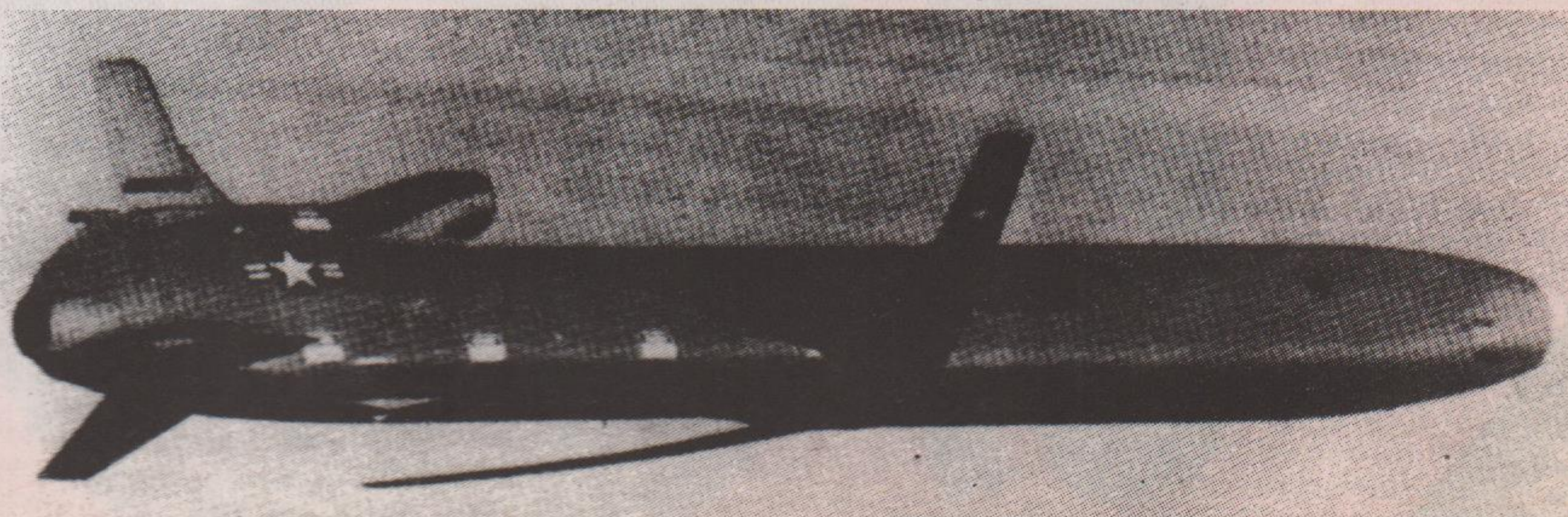
Original Signatories:

Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, USSR.

Finland was invited to subscribe to the Pact in September 1955, but declined.

Hungary tried unsuccessfully to withdraw in 1956.

Albania ceased to cooperate with the Pact in 1961 and formally withdrew in September 1968.



Exclusive interview with Reagan

BF: Mr Reagan, you appear to be making a radical proposal to the Soviet Union which would involve a significant reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. If you were honest, would you concede that this is something of a con-trick?

REAGAN: If I were honest I wouldn't be President.

BF: But would you agree that the proposal, if carried through, would leave the US with a substantial superiority in terms of strategic weapons. This being the case, the Soviets will clearly reject it. And when they do so, you will look good and the peace movement will be jolted.

REAGAN: Your cynicism is only partially justified. My concern is not so much the American peace movement, as this is irritating but relatively powerless. Instead, I am far more concerned about the European peace movement.

To begin with, I don't like being called an animal. I have my self-respect. More important, my administration is very concerned about the state of NATO, which is not just the defender of the free world but also the rock upon which American power is built. If NATO goes under, we go under.

Now, it's not hard to see that NATO is having enough difficulties from our European allies - what with the Soviet gas pipeline, German economic power, Poland et al - without this bunch of limp-wristed Commie-loving pacifists kicking sand in our faces. Don't you see that Europe needs America for protection, just like we need Europe because it's the best bet for investments on this planet. There's not a lot in it for you, of course, but beggars can't be choosers, can they?

BF: You came to the Presidency denouncing the Government's budget deficit and calling for a big increase in

arms spending. Now the budget deficit is reaching record levels, largely because of your arms spending, and you are making dramatic proposals about arms reductions. Are the two related?

REAGAN: Well, you can bet your bottom dollar that at least four parts of the arms, I mean defence, budget won't be sacrificed. These are the MX missile programme, Trident, the Cruise/Pershing missile programme and the chemical weapons programme. We're not making a lot of noise about this you realise. We don't want the pacifists to cotton on too quickly to the fact that we're holding on to these babies. But there is a lot of credibility at stake here. On the one hand, we want to have credibility as a peace-loving nation, so that we can cement NATO together in the political sphere. That's why I've made these proposals for arms reductions.

On the other hand, we have to have credibility as a nation that's strong enough and willing enough to zap the Soviets if they get above themselves. That's why we need the MX missiles and Trident, as well as Cruise and Pershing II, which provide the necessary back-up.

BF: The catch here, as far as the peace movement is concerned, is that the Trident D5 missiles and the MX only make sense as 'First Strike' weapons. Far from wanting to respond to Soviet aggression, you appear to want to destroy them without them being able to respond. This impression is confirmed by your rejection of the Soviet 'no-first-strike' proposals just a few weeks ago.

REAGAN: Don't get me wrong. The European pacifists portray me as a warmonger who would get them all destroyed. Really I only want to hit the Soviets, but clearly you understand,

without too great a loss of life on our side. Just think for a moment what this would mean for the world, for our economy, for my immortality. When Europe begins to understand this, they will accept a few sacrifices.

BF: And what would you do without your favourite scapegoat in Central America and the Middle East? How would you justify the intervention of US troops, boost your arms sales, find excuses for your support for fascists? Your aggressive role everywhere needs the Soviets.

REAGAN: We're looking into that one. Certainly, we have no problem supporting fasci- or rather, authoritarian governments. The problem only arises when they forget that they are acting for us and start getting above themselves. This is what makes life hard for us in the Middle East and what caused me such a headache in the Falklands.

BF: The Falklands dispute made you question your support for juntas?

REAGAN: Not that so much. At first we felt aggrieved primarily because a damn fool war on the edge of nowhere was forcing us to choose between our European and our Latin American commitments. With the profit returns of American companies far higher on these continents than at home in the US, we'd have been half-assed turkeys had we not tried to work out a compromise. But then the options ran out. We looked at the map and figured, well, if the Latin Americans are going to get mad with us there's plenty other generals waiting in the wings. Mrs Thatcher on the other hand, is a swell ally, 'staunch and true' as she says, so the Brits won the day. Anyhow, I had to placate Congress for the arms budget, didn't I?

Building the non-nuclear links

BIG FLAME is a socialist organisation that believes the end of war, unemployment, poverty, sexual and racial oppression, and the creation of a free, equal and classless society, involves the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and of the so-called communist countries such as Russia.

We believe that nuclear weaponry is not an obscene growth on an otherwise healthy society but rather a major ingredient in the way many ruling elites maintain their economic and political domination. So for us campaigning against nuclear weaponry *alone* will have limited success. Links have to be made with all the other struggles and campaigns which, in their partial ways, are also striving for a classless society. In this supplement we sketch out some of those links - between nuclear weapons and nuclear power, between mass unemployment and arms spending, between

the militarisation of the nuclear state and male violence against women - and between campaigns against nuclear weapons and military/economic domination throughout the world. We further assert that this is a struggle that needs the mass involvement of ordinary people - it cannot be left to representatives or leaders - the power that we are confronting is too great to be overcome by votes or resolutions.

BIG FLAME anti-nuclear commission is open to everyone sympathetic to the ideas in this supplement.

You can get the address of your nearest Big Flame contact from the National Office: 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1

Previous supplement available, price 10p + postage.